1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

boys. The unmarried men, boys, and married men whose wives are pregnant or nursing infants, as well as a few other men, have slept in the men's house on the beach. Lovers will have slept in the bush, or in the woman's house if the husband is absent.

The men and boys stroll along the beach, where off one end behind a coral formation is the men's latrine, secluded by bushes and trees. The tide washing in makes the latrine a sanitary one. The men continue their leisurely stroll along the beach, sometimes stopping to sit down and gaze at the sea for awhile. The whole day is before them and there is no need for haste.

In the meantime the women and girls have defaecated in the bush, somewhere back of the house, which they now sweep with a broom made of the dried midribs of coconut leaves tied together at one end. The wife throws some taro scrapings and the ends of taro left from the previous day to the pigs. By the time the man has returned from the beach the woman has finished tidying the house. Each now eats a taro baked the day before. This is not a regular meal, and they frequently eat while standing up or sauntering about.

After this (it is now about 7.30) the women load baskets on their backs and go to the gardens, which are about an hour's walk through the bush. Here they plant the taro, pull out weeds, and fill the baskets with taro ready to be eaten. The men may go to the gardens also, to build a new fence, or repair an old one, to clear ground for a new garden, or perhaps to get firewood. Or they may stay at home to look after the baby. Sometimes they fish, build a new house, or repair an old one. Men too old to work sit on the beach, or in the compound in front of the house, or occasionally take a short stroll. A feeble old woman stays in the house. One not so feeble, but too old for active work, takes care of a grandchild, real or classificatory. The occu-

4: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10 Lesu

but when their preparations are finished, about four o'clock, they take their ease and chat and gossip lightly. Perhaps they wander over to another hamlet and visit the women there. At sunset they return home, feed the pigs with the scrapings from the taro, and, if they have fowls,[1] these are also fed. The girls and younger children go to the beach waterholes, in which the sea-water is filtered as it trickles up through the sand, and they fill the hollow bamboo stems with drinking-water. The time for this varies with the tide.

Night comes quickly and by seven it is almost completely dark. Each family is gathered around its own fire in the compound in front of the house. Some sit on the ground, and others may be on a bamboo bench constructed near the fire. Now they have their evening meal, the inevitable baked taro, perhaps varied with a bit of fish or a few crabs. Throughout the village every family is gathered as a unit around its own fire, and there is an air of peace in the place.

How the rest of the evening is spent will depend upon the moon. On dark nights, unlit by the moon, everyone goes to bed quite early, an hour or so after they finish the evening meal, but on moonlight nights the scene is different. Even when the moon is only half full the village is illumined by its beams, and when it is completely rounded the place fairly shimmers in its rays. The leaves of the coconut palms shine bright green and the bamboo trees sparkle with fireflies. The beach is like a cold white streak lying between the dark blue waves and the green trees. The tall arica palm nods its head gracefully in the background. The fires gleam throughout the village and aid the moon in throwing tall shadows, which make the houses seem small and insignificant. Now there is gaiety in the night. Children are playing on the beach imitating a ritual dance. Adults are visiting each other in their compounds, or strolling about, and

[1] Chickens have been introduced through white contact.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

there is light laughter and gay voices. One group of men is at the men's house. Lovers have gone into the privacy of the deep bush, which even the moon cannot penetrate. The evening passes happily for everyone and bedtime comes close to midnight.

The days are full, but not hurried. In addition to the normal work there are the many feasts to prepare for, dances to be rehearsed for coming rites, and other preparations for ritual activities, which consume a large amount of time. To-day, also, the native is compelled to keep the road in good condition, and this work lessens the time for his own labour.[1] The native habit is to take time off when he is very tired or has nothing to do. For instance, after a strenuous three or four days of mortuary rites he sleeps for a whole day. But I did not see any healthy men or women spend many days in idleness. They were busy, with suitable intervals for leisure, and, on the whole, they lead an active life, but one without hurry or tension. No exact hour or day is set far in advance for an elaborate rite, but when the preparations are finished, the rite will be carried out.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This daily life is set within a social structure which may be likened to an elastic configuration, functioning as the individuals live within it. In this configuration are certain fundamental elements which are chosen for detailed observation and study. These elements are the groupings of people on the basis of kinship, locality, and sex. The place of an individual within the structure and his various relationships with other people are largely determined (in so far as they are socially determined) by blood relationships, place of residence, and sex.

[1] He is required to give three days a week for this labour.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

Each member of this small community knows every other member well, his virtues, his faults, his little foibles and idiosyncrasies, and it is within these groups that one finds the choicest bits of gossip. Every native is identified with a certain hamlet as well as village. Thus, he is a man from Penguli, or Ponembatawa, as well as a member of the village of Lesu. His deepest roots are in the hamlet, and when he dies it is to the cemetery of the hamlet in which he was born that he is brought to be buried. As matrilocal residence is the rule, a man is frequently buried in a hamlet other than that in which he was living.[1]

The next smallest grouping according to locality is the household, which corresponds, in general, to the individual family, consisting of parents and children. Should a man have two wives, each wife will usually have her own house, although if there is a great difference in their ages, one being very old and decrepit, they frequently occupy the same house. The unmarried men and the boys, after the age of nine or ten, sleep in the men's house. There is no girls' house corresponding to the men's house, and the girls sleep at home until they are married. The usual occupants of each house are thus, the husband and wife, the female unmarried children, and young male children. But even though the older boys may sleep at the men's house, they participate in the life of the household. Just as each hamlet

[1] In the past, before white contact, the hamlets of Lesu formed two villages. The present six hamlets at the northern end (Simbelmalum, Ponamsambuat, Ponembwam, Ponembatawa, Ponmeniliasau, and Ponatlege) were known as the village of Tagam, and the remaining nine hamlets (Onel, Panat, Logok, Pantes, Penguli, Tarengam, Pencil, Sapone, Penbumbu) were the Lesu village. Each had their own chief, and there was constant fighting caused by thefts of women and pigs between the two villages. While war has been abolished and the two villages are now united, a certain division is still maintained between them. For instance, the boys of Tagam are still circumcised separately from the boys of Lesu. The members of the two places attend each other's rites, but there is no really close intimacy between them.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

owner makes the few necessary furnishings. Beds are made by placing bamboo poles side by side, three feet from the ground. There will be a space of several feet between each bed, and one for each person of the household. Between the bed of the man and wife is the place for the fire, which will keep them warm at night and protect them from insects. (Bed-covers do not exist.) In the centre of the house is the cooking fire, *liga*. Above this place is built a bamboo shelf, *kogo*, to hold baskets and baked taro, or any other household article. A man may eat half of a baked taro and place the remaining half on the shelf for the future when he will be hungry again. As a rule there are no decorations of any kind inside or outside of the house, but there are the usual exceptions, and a few who are skilled may have a bit of carving on the outside.

PIG-HUNTING

The wild pig of the bush are hunted by a few men of the community at irregular intervals. Not all men are pig-hunters. To be one, a man must own a dog and either know, or be able to purchase, the magic which is said over a dog to make him effective. This magic is made only once over a new dog, not every time there is a hunting expedition. (In the same way magic is made only once over a new fishing-net.)

A man will start off early in the morning carrying his bamboo spear, accompanied by his own dog, and sometimes by two or three other dogs belonging to different men. The dogs track the pig but do not kill it, unless it should be a baby pig. When the dog has found the pig the hunter comes up and spears him. This, however, will usually only injure the animal and not kill him. If the pig is a small one, the man will fasten it on a bamboo pole and carry it home alone, but if it is big, he will tie up the animal so that it cannot run away, and then return to the village for men to assist him

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

832 erection. He wanted to have intercourse with them, but they
522 refused and said they were just playing. They told him to come closer and take the taro, but he only swayed back and forth in pain. Later the women lay down on a path in the bush and exposed themselves again. Once more the man saw them, had an erection, and wanted them. Again they refused and said they were only playing.

This tale was told to me without embarrassment, very dramatically, and amid shouts of laughter. A group of seven or eight women were present. Although all of them knew the tale, they laughed appreciatively at it and thoroughly enjoyed its re-telling, including the participant. The presence of several young children was taken for granted, and they too laughed, although not quite so heartily or understandingly as their mothers.

832 It has already been noted how the women use the same device of exposing themselves during their dancing, when they are feeling very gay, and how it is sometimes followed by intercourse.

SEX ACTIVITIES

833 The actual details of intercourse are naturally the same in or out of marriage, although some of the preliminaries may vary. A husband and wife each have their separate bed, [513] never sleeping in the same one. In the past the woman slept in her straw apron, and to-day she sleeps with her loin-cloth on, as does also the man. When the man desires his wife he goes to her bed, and when he has finished returns to his own bed almost immediately. The woman never takes the initiative in going to her husband's bed, and when asked the question my women friends regarded such a procedure with horror, and asked if the woman should be a man.

The woman lies flat on her back with legs outstretched and as wide apart as possible. The man squats or kneels between her wide-open legs and supports himself by grasping

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

a son or daughter, a nephew or uncle, on the mother's side, or a mother. The consort during this period is spending all his time wailing, and not taking any part in the actual preparations.

During this interval between death and burial there is a fairly large group of people assembled at the hamlet where the death occurred. All the clan relatives and their consorts—the extended family—and sometimes a few others are there. At night the sexes sleep separately. All the women sleep in one house and all the men in another, or perhaps the men sleep out of doors in a compound in front of a house. There is abstention from all sexual relations.

If the funeral is that of a very old person and the rites are being carried out in full detail dancing is part of the ceremonial. At the funeral of an old and important woman, Maling (her sister's son was a chief), there was dancing on the two nights which elapsed between the time of death and the burial. Maling died early in the day and that night all the women of the village and the neighbouring villages danced. The next night the men of the village and of neighbouring villages danced. On the following morning the corpse was buried. Each night dancing went on continuously until sunrise. Different groups danced, so that no one person danced all night long. The whole community (the village and neighbouring ones) was present as an audience. If the energy of the dancers appeared to flag, the daughter of the dead woman exhorted them to continue with promises of the payment which would later be made to them. The dances were the traditional ones used on all ritual occasions, and participants were members of the community, regardless of their kinship to the dead person. Dancing is a part of the rites only when the dead person is very old.

The actual burial, however, does not vary very much according to the age of the dead person. Some time in the interval preceding burial the corpse is put in its coffin, usually an old canoe with the pointed ends removed. Members of the opposite moiety carry the corpse from the house in which it has been resting into the cemetery. They are decorated with leaves and white lime is used as a facial adornment. These pall-bearers advance in a square formation, singing, lift up the corpse, circle around the compound two or three times with it and finally carry it into the cemetery. At the same

2: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

764 The payments for the pigs and services show very plainly that
614 it is the clan relatives who are responsible for carrying out the mortuary rites. It is an economic matter and they are the ones who are under an obligation to make the payments. There are fewer exceptions to this rule than almost any other. When Kawitti died her son was absent at a distant village. There was no maternal nephew present either, and she had no daughter. She was survived by a husband, who, in the absence of a clan relative, made a very small burial feast. It was explained at the feast that it was a very small one and that as soon as the son came home he would make a big feast. Eleven days later the son returned, having walked from a far distant village, and after he finished wailing, he immediately began preparations for a really big feast. These preparations took about a week, at the end of which there was a large feast attended by over a hundred people. It was the son who officiated at the feast and who, assisted by his clan relatives, made the necessary payments. The husband of the dead woman was completely in the background.

538 The ending of the majority of folk tales and myths is also rather
764 interesting, in showing the economic responsibility of the clan
614 relatives for the mortuary rites. An overwhelming number of the folk tales end with the death of one or more of the main characters. The tales all conclude on exactly the same note, " The man died and then all the clan relatives held a pig and made a feast."[9]

RITES AFTER BURIAL

765 The rites after burial may be divided into two parts, those occurring in the period immediately after death (the first month) and those in the succeeding period, which extends to an indefinite number of years.

765 The sleeping arrangements and taboo on sexual intercourse for
513 the extended family, which began during the burial rites, are
834 continued in this first period. The men sleep in one house, frequently the men's house, and all the women sleep in another house, sometimes

[9] " Holding a pig " refers to holding it just before it is killed.

2: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM1
Lesu

the house of the dead person. These include usually the following: real and classificatory sons and daughters and their spouses, brothers and sisters, parents, nephews and nieces. This period of abstention from sexual intercourse lasts about three weeks and its end is marked by a feast. The initiative in terminating this period is taken by a clan relative (a brother in several cases observed). He holds the feast and at it announces the discontinuance of the sleeping taboo. During the time when these sex taboos are enforced all those implicated live in the hamlet where the death occurred. They not only sleep there, but cook, eat, and spend their entire time at this hamlet. One death occurred in the hamlet next to the one in which I was living, involving most of the people in my hamlet, which was consequently deserted for the three weeks following the death. The men spend their time sitting around the cemetery, talking and doing nothing. Their conversation is mostly about any practical affair that happens to engage their attention. After one death it was about the expected visit of the district officer to collect taxes, a very momentous affair in the life of the native, but having nothing to do with the recent death. Each day the men eat together in the cemetery. The women prepare the food together and remain in the compound to eat, but not with the men, instead of returning to their own house to eat, as they usually do. Some of these people are observing food taboos. The taboo is on eating taro, the staple food of the native, and is observed by parents or children, brothers or sisters, and husband or wife. This taboo is kept until a few days before the mourners go back to their ordinary sleeping arrangements, and its end is also marked with a feast, when one of those observing the taboo hits a baked pig on the back before it is cut up for the feast. The hitting of the pig is a signal that the taboo is lifted. If dance rehearsals happen to have been in progress they are discontinued for about ten days after the death.[10] A brother gives the signal for the resumption of the dance rehearsals by sounding the *kolamuth* (a hollowed tree trunk used as a drum). The native evidently makes a distinction between the

[10]Dance rehearsals are carried on for months before a rite, of which they are a part, is held.